1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

Within the traditional homes the central fireplace provides the only artificial light and heat that the occupants enjoy, although candles and kerosene lamps are gradually being adopted by those who can afford them. Cooking is done at the open fire, often in pots that are suspended by chains. Pottery vessels were formerly the rule, but commercially made iron utensils are now common. Wood is the chief fuel, but straw may be used to build up a refractory fire. Unlike farmers in the United States, who take pride in having neat and ample piles of seasoned wood, the Araucanians have the custom of dragging several large pieces of timber into their yards. Here the wood lies exposed to the weather and, whenever necessary, someone hurries outdoors and chops off a few sticks. Even in the rainy season no attempt is made to store up a large quantity of dry wood. At night, fires are neither extinguished nor kept going. They are generally covered and left smouldering so that they may readily be blown up the next day.

SETTLEMENT PATTERN

One of the most striking aspects of a contemporary Araucanian reservation is the absence of any formal distribution of houses: "There are no streets, no central plaza, no stores or public buildings, in short, nothing that suggests the spatial arrangement of a village or town."[11] Not infrequently, houses are built in small clusters of three or four, known as *lofche*, but single dwellings that stand apart are common. As a general rule, each home is within view of several others, but rarely do footpaths connect the structures. This separation has been noted by a number of writers, but it has never been completely explained.

Very likely, the antipathy of the Mapuche for spatial cohesion may originally have been a reflection of their loosely knit social organization, and it may also have been an expression of their deep desire for independence. Then again, during the era of steady fighting such a settlement pattern may doubtless have had strategic significance, for no enemy commander was likely

[11] Titiev, 1949, p. 3.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

to organize large-scale expeditions in order to attack a handful of widely scattered residences. Still, too much separation would have rendered each isolated homestead particularly vulnerable. By way of compromise a system seems to have been worked out whereby houses were erected within sight of one another. This meant that by day smoke signals could be used for summoning help in the event of a raid. The same proximity also gave assurance that at night the sound of the *kullkull* could be heard. A *kullkull* is a simple wind instrument fashioned from a cow horn and used like an army bugle. In case of danger a signal was blown, consisting of two long, two short, and a very long blast. When this was heard men rushed to the nearest road to intercept or attack any raiders. It is not improbable that the scarcity of roads on the reservations also resulted from strategic considerations, as it enabled local defenders to concentrate on a limited number of points.

At the present time the settlement pattern seems to reflect little more than cultural conservatism, combined with the desire of each householder to live in private on his own particular piece of property. The privacy of each residence is greatly respected. Conventionally, no one ever enters the home of another person without an express invitation. Inmates of a house are made aware of a visitor by the barking of their dogs who rush fiercely at a stranger; sometimes a child appears at the door to discover who has come. From a safe distance the caller shouts, "*Mari, mari, papai!*" ("A hundred [greetings] little grandmother!"), or a similar phrase. If the occupants so desire they respond and invite the visitor to come in, but if there is no reply the visitor is expected to go away even if he is aware that someone is home.

The modern Mapuche are not much given to long distance travel. Short journeys may be made afoot, but men, in particular, prefer to ride horseback on longer trips, and they are very much at ease in the saddle. When women have to travel for a considerable distance they generally ride in an oxcart, with a masculine relative or companion as driver. As was previously stated, roads are virtually nonexistent inside a given reserva-

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

ferred to similar sociopolitical structures, but their data are too fragmentary and their terminology too inconsistent to provide a clear presentation.[41] All authors agree on two points. Whatever the true nature of the system may have been, it functioned best in times of war; and the smaller units were autonomous except during emergencies.

From a review of all the known facts it seems evident that far beyond all other considerations, a local chief's prestige depended on the number of able-bodied men at his disposal. Even when they were nominally at peace the Araucanians frequently carried out intratribal raids, known as *malones*.[42] In this practice the political and kinship systems merge into one, for the size of a *loñko's* following depended primarily on the number of sons he and the men of his lineage begot. That explains why polygyny was so widely practiced and why great chiefs commonly amassed as many as twenty wives apiece.[43] Almost invariably, the authority of a *loñko* was restricted to kinfolk, and the central core of his following was formed by those members of his patrilineal lineage who would have resided in his household under the ancient scheme of unilocal, patrilocal residence. It is significant that during an interview on this subject Juan Antinao voluntarily defined a *loñko* as *la cabeza de la familia y su reducción*.[44] Such an interpretation is also supported by the fact that chiefs are known whose following numbered only 120 to 130 persons.[45]

Under the traditional form of Araucanian social organization, each chief was assisted by two important officials called *werkens*.

[41] Cooper, 1946, p. 725. Latcham (1924) devoted his fifth and sixth chapters to lengthy discussions of these supposed sociopolitical units, but throughout he stressed their ceremonial or totemic implications.

[42] Latcham (1909, p. 354): "Armed raids (*malones*) were constantly made on the neighboring villages. . . ." A vivid description of a large-scale attack occurs in Moesbach, 1930, pp. 270–87.

[43] Latcham, 1909, p. 359.

[44] Similar statements to the effect that chiefs had authority only over kin may be found in numerous places. See, for example, Latcham, 1909, pp. 356–57; Edwards, 1930, p. 13; and Cooper, 1946, p. 726.

[45] Housse, 1939, pp. 249 and 282.

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

From a plant called *madi* they obtain a sweet oil, considerably used in their cooking. 262 252

The immense forests supply them with innumerable fruits and berries, used both for food and for the manufacture of fermented liquors, and also with edible fungi which form a favourite article of diet. The open plains provide them with the wild strawberry (*fragaria chilensis*), small but of exquisite flavour. This plant frequently covers square leagues of ground, but never grows except on virgin soil. But the great staple food, the base of all their subsistence, save among the coast tribes, was the *piñon*, the fruit of the Araucanian pine (*Araucaria imbricata*). 262 222 [137] [137]

Every year during the autumn months excursions are made by the whole tribe to the pine forests, where they remain until they have collected sufficient for the following year. Each tribe has its own district, inherited by custom from generation to generation and inviolate, by unwritten law, from other tribes, even in time of warfare. [423]

This harvest was formerly of such supreme importance, that all inter-tribal quarrels and warfares were suspended by mutual accord during this period. [726]

The Araucano had always a good supply of flesh and fowl, especially the latter. Among the wild animals used for food were the *huemul* (*cervus chilensis*), the *pudu* (*cervus pudu*), the guanaco, and the *pangi* (*felis concolor*). 224 136

The birds were more numerous and included the *vudu* or partridge, pigeons, doves, parrots, numerous kinds of duck, *bandurria*, *peguen* or wild geese, wild swans, plover, etc. The coast tribes lived principally on fish and various kinds of shellfish. 223 136

In modern times they have cultivated maize and *frejoles* (beans), introduced by the Incas, wheat, barley, rye, potatoes and other crops, while their food supply has been greatly increased by the introduction of horses, cattle, sheep, pigs, and poultry. 241 231

To this abundance of comestibles is to be ascribed the warlike tendencies of these Indians, who not having to give much heed to their food supply, the fertile soil producing it spontaneously almost everywhere, could indulge freely in the luxury of continual warfare. This also gave them an enormous advantage over the Spaniards in their long campaigns, as the latter were almost entirely dependent on their baggage trains or provision supplies, while the surrounding country catered to the wants of their indomitable foes. 721

As a condiment they use the *aji* or Chile pepper; salt was obtained from the numerous saline deposits found throughout the country, while flavour was given to their dishes by the employment of wild thyme and wild mint. 263

Their food is usually cooked in earthenware pots, but many kinds of flesh are roasted, or broiled. 252

The cooking is done by the women, each wife cooking for her own family and taking it in turns to cook for the husband. Each wife has her own fire and cooking utensils.

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

266 727 or shell knife. This was the signal for the rest, who came one at a time, each one cutting off a portion of flesh, until the bones were stripped and life extinct. Men, women and children partook of the feast. The flesh was sometimes roasted, sometimes eaten raw. Before life was quite extinct they opened the breast and tore out the heart, which was passed from hand to hand among the chiefs and captains, each one biting it and sucking the blood and sprinkling it to the east.

[782] In later years this cannibalism was gradually discontinued, although the prisoners of war were still sacrificed. It became the custom to slay them with a stone club, the chiefs biting the heart and sucking the blood as before, after which it was carried round the village in procession together with the head, both stuck on the points of long lances. The flesh was stripped from the limbs and the bones used for making flutes and whistles. The trunk was then thrown out to the dogs and birds of prey. The heads of the enemies slain in battle were cut off and carried in triumph to the villages, where they were afterwards used as drinking vessels in the feasts.

• 721 *War.*—The Araucanos were essentially a warlike race, as their prolonged resistance, of nearly three centuries, to the Spanish arms clearly demonstrates. During this long period their military organisation became much perfected.

When war was declared, one of the *toqui* (war chiefs) sent round a bloody arrow to all the other war chiefs, by a special messenger, who also carried a *quipu* or *pron* of red woollen cords with certain knots tied in it, indicating the time and place of the general reunion. This *pron* contained one cord for each chief invited, and on receiving it he added certain knots to indicate the number of followers he could muster, afterwards sending it on with much secrecy to the next chief. These reunions generally took place in the spring. Here were discussed the causes for declaring war, the arrangements for the coming expedition, the number of warriors each district should provide, and the levies of provisions to be contributed by each *rehue*. Here, too, the general in chief was elected from among the principal *toqui*.

702 Once the date of the expedition was decided, the preparations were carried on with much secrecy. The warriors were chosen, and practised in gymnastic and warlike exercises daily. A general abstinence, especially from intoxicating liquors and sexual intercourse, was adopted, while great attention was paid to the thorough preparation of arms. When the army was assembled, the general named his chiefs of divisions, who in turn selected their officers, and distributed the *conas* or soldiers.

723 Before marching it was customary to discuss the plan of campaign, and all its details of stratagems, ambushes, attacks, surprises, etc.

At the time of the Spanish invasion it was the custom to march in disorderly bodies without any attempt at formation; but experience taught them to organise their methods better, and a stricter discipline was established and bodies of scouts thrown out in advance. But no discipline was of avail when some superstitious

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

and clothing, skin dressing, making pottery, and weaving basketry. 900

Some traces of sporadic drudgery labor by captives taken in warfare or raids appear, but slavery as a developed permanent institution can hardly be said to have been present. The *Mapuche-Huilliche* served at times as middlemen in slave trading with the Spaniards. 567

ETIQUETTE

It was de rigueur for a visitor, guest, or official messenger to carry out with his host a long series of more or less formalized questions, answers, comments, and compliments, before business or general conversation opened. A guest was supposed to eat all the food set before him. The common salutation on meeting was "mari mari." The weeping salutation between kin and friends, on the return, for instance, from a journey, is recorded by Guevara Silva (1908, p. 63). It was impolite to interrupt a person who was talking, or to pass directly in front of him or to pass between two people conversing without apologizing. One of the most common courtesies was to drink toasts to friends, sharing the drink with them. Before entering a hut, the visitor was supposed to knock; he entered only after an invitation to enter was received from the head of the house. 576

Among the many common insulting terms were "ghost," "dog," "toad," and, worst of all, "sorcerer." (Havestadt, 1883, 1:398; cf. L. de Valdivia, 1887, s. v. goyde; Guevara Silva, 1898, 1:221; fuller list, including many grosser insults, in Guevara Silva, 1911, pp. 50–56.)

Hospitality was always given to friend and stranger, as a recognized custom.

In more recent times at least, one of the highest courtesies or honors that could be conferred was the awün (awn), which consisted of riding around a person whom the group wished to honor and of shouting at the same time. (See also table etiquette supra under Eating p. 706).

Personal cleanliness was cultivated through daily bathing in the rivers or streams, even in wintertime, a custom indulged in also by the women and having for both young and old the further purpose of preserving health and strengthening the body. The *Mapuche-Huilliche* were excellent swimmers and divers. The bark of kellai (quillay, *Quillaja saponaria*) was used in place of soap to wash the hair. Nevertheless, lice were abundant, a common method of disposing of them being that of killing them with the hands or teeth and eating them. Considerable efforts were also made to keep huts and cooking utensils clean. 515 [481]

WARFARE

Warfare in the sense of feuds and battles between *Araucanian* groups themselves was common. 721

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

721 not, however, to extend territory. Most of our information, however, concerns warfare as carried on between the *Araucanians* and the Spaniards.

Preparation for war.—The first step toward deciding upon war was usually the sending, by a headman or group, of a messenger to headmen and groups desired as confederates. The messenger carried an arrow tied with a red string, symbolic of blood, or, if hostilities had already begun, with the finger of a slain enemy attached to the arrow. He also carried a quipu for each headman or group, to indicate the day of assembly. When all had assembled on the appointed day, a black llama was killed and the arrows and spears were dipped in or anointed with the animal's blood, while all of the headmen ate a bit of the heart of the animal as a pledge of unified purpose. The war decision was [701] made by general agreement. A leader was chosen by preference from among the existing headmen or prominent warriors. His authority was considerable but lasted only so long as war lasted. His mark of office was the toki, the name by which he himself was called. In the later 18th century, at least, the toki-ax was kept in hiding during peacetime and brought out in time of war. The fighting men before [834] going to war shaved their heads, leaving only a circle of hair, abstained from sex relations, and ate and drank sparingly for 8 days before starting out.

725 **Tactics and weapons.**—As early as 1568, the *Araucanians* had begun to use cavalry in battle on a fairly large scale; later, they used it much more frequently. In battle formation, the infantry advanced in the center and the cavalry on the wings. The use of advance guards, sentinels at night, trenches protected with thorn branches, pitfalls and ditches with sharp stakes at the bottom, spies and fifth-column work, and log forts and palisades was common. Each warrior carried with him a small bag of parched meal which, with salt and ají, constituted his food. A common war cry was to strike the open mouth rhythmically with the palm of the hand while shouting and to repeat this four times (Moesbach, 1936, p. 126).

411 Infantry weapons were chiefly the following: Bows and arrows, spears, clubs, and slings. The spears were 20, 30, or more palms long (circa 14 to 20 feet), with fire-hardened or stone points. Spears were sometimes thrown as javelins (Frézier, 1716, p. 58; cf. "gorguz," in Ercilla, canto 25, 1910, p. 415, and Oña, canto 6, 1917, p. 225). The bow was short, according to González de Nájera (1889, p. 95, 5 palmos) with sinew string; the arrows, according to González de Nájera (ibid., pp. 95–96), about 2½ palmos long, of cane, usually with bone heads, not poisoned but lightly attached to the shaft and apt to come off in the wound, were carried in a quiver. The clubs were of two kinds, a very long two-handed elbow club of heavy wood, about 15 palmos long, according to González de Nájera (1889, p. 96); and another type of

7:Padden H-4 (no date)1957 SG4 Araucanians SG4

631 rather than central, and coöperation was most often found in the realm of diplomacy.

With the turn of the century a more precise political and military division was created by the Araucanians. The region between the Biobío and Toltén Rivers was divided into three longitudinal strips called *butanmapos;* they were the sub-Andean range, the central valley, and the coastal strip (including the estado). Each butanmapo had clearly defined limits and jurisdictions; each had, at least in time of war, a principal chief, or *toque.* It was customary for the chiefs to debate plans for war in a parliamentary junta in which the three territories were represented. Strategy was agreed upon by common consent.[40] The relationship between the local chiefs and territorial toques is not clear, but it seems likely that military power was held to both qualify status and to assure authority. When disagreement occurred between toques, war between territories could and did sometimes develop.[41]

Gerónimo Pietas, writing around 1729, describes a further development of this general schema. At this time the territorial strips had been increased to four in number. These provinces were still called butanmapos, but they extended farther north and south than did the older territories. This extension of Araucania is mute testimony to the growth of Araucanian strength and confidence. In Pietas' description each butanmapo had a hierarchy of three superior chiefs: a *toqui-guilmen* (commander), a *guinca-guilmen* (field coenmander), and a *pelqui-guilmen* (diplomatic courier). While these officers assumed absolute authority in their positions within the province, they were inferior to a *toque-general* who apparently wielded a measure of authority over the whole of Araucania. He further describes a conventionalization of diplomacy involving three forms for the calling of war. A 631 general war could be called for only by the toque-general, and at his own discre- 721 tion. When he desired to begin hostilities word was passed to all chiefs through a group of sub-chiefs called *cones.* Only the toque-general could dispatch the cones, and in the event of hostilities between the provinces, the fact of being called to council by a con was a guarantee of safe conduct. All chiefs attended the councils, wherein strategy was planned and forces drawn up.

War could also be called for by a regional toque. As messenger he sent his pelqui-guilmen to the other butanmapos, asking their aid and support, which they might or might not give. In the third instance war could be initiated by simply attacking the Spaniards. In this event the warring chieftain used force

[114] 40 Bascuñan, pp. 39-41. Latcham (*La prehistoria chilena,* pp. 153-154) considers this to be an ancient Mapuche military organization, even though it is first reported almost a century after the Spaniards arrived. From what we know of the ancient Mapuche, this would appear to be an unduly sophisticated organization.

41 *Idem,* pp. 94-99, 144-148; "Relación de Luis de Valdivia," 1611 (Gay, II, pp. 281-282).

7:Padden H-4 (no date) 1957 SG4 Araucanians SG4

of arms to enlist the support of the local Indians for his designs.[42] As incomplete as this description is, it does give evidence of a relatively sophisticated politico-military organization which stands in sharp contrast against that of the first generation of estado caciques.

Development of religious beliefs among the Araucanians is a most difficult postulation because we know so very little about their pre-Hispanic religious ideas. The chroniclers generally agree that the spirits of Araucanian ancestors formed an important cult, each kinship group having an ultimate progenitor whose spirit was called *Pillán*. This spirit was believed to be immanent, and so could be propitiated. Before going into battle the Indians sometimes sought divination from oracles, and once having gained a victory in a given locality through the intercession of supernatural forces, they believed that they could not lose a subsequent battle in that particular place.[43] Given the immediate religious background of the chroniclers of the sixteenth century, one in which religious and nationalistic sentiment were perfectly united, and the omnipresent tradition of the *Reconquista*, one must always wonder if the early chroniclers reported what the Indians actually believed, or if they instead reflected the paths of their own cognition.

As the Spaniards made war in the name of an omnipotent God, the Araucanians appear to have rationalized a deity for their own defense. There were innumerable Pilláns hovering over every locality, and in the absence of concerted missionary effort they doubtless remained. In describing an Araucanian ceremonial that he witnessed in 1629 Bascuñan depicts an interesting bit of symbolism which suggests the evolution of a super-Pillán. The occasion of ceremony was the execution of a Spanish captive. Involved in the execution was a lance with three knives fixed to its end, representing the three butanmapos. After the captive's brains had been dashed out, his captor took from the lance that knife which represented his personal region of Araucania and used it to cut out the victim's heart. He sucked its blood, took tobacco smoke and blew it to the heavens, then passed the heart around to the other chiefs for similar usage, after which it was divided and eaten.[44] The three knives symbolized Araucania, and the sucking of blood was a

42 Gerónimo Pietas, "Noticias sobre las costumbres de los Araucanos" (Gay, II, pp. 489-493).

43 Marmolejo, p. 172; Nájera, p. 48; also see Latcham, *La prehistoria chilena*, pp. 193-194. Cooper (pp. 742-752) makes a noble attempt to unravel the confused threads of early Araucanian religious belief.

44 Bascuñan, pp. 39-43. The author was a captain of Spanish infantry and the son of Alvaro Núñez de Pineda, *maestro de campo general*, one of Chile's distinguished soldiers. In 1629 the Araucanians crossed the Biobío and fell on Chillán. They captured Bascuñan and took him back to their stronghold. His captivity was one of those story book affairs, almost too romantic and dramatic to be real. He was befriended by Maulican, a powerful chieftain

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche
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tive raids and slaving parties. Many captives were put to work on Spanish estates in the north, women were distributed as concubines, several epidemics swept the land, and untold thousands of Mapuche migrated to Argentina. But Mapuche independence was maintained until late in the nineteenth century. Part of the price for independence was social upheaval and population dispersion at the local-group level of Mapuche society, and the long colonial era was characterized by continual guerrilla warfare, occasional general uprisings, and gradual loss of territory (Faron, 1956).

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Chilean independence from Spain in 1818 awakened national interest in the further colonization of the indigenous zone. The new government, however, expressed an interest in protecting the Mapuche from the worst evils of contact through legislation designed to prevent the unauthorized alienation of their land. Government decrees of this period were also aimed at curtailing the activities of speculators with an eye to settling Araucanía with resident farmers and establishing numerous towns which would service the rural areas. It was further intended that the Mapuche should eventually abandon their native way of life and seek employment in the towns and on the haciendas which were being established in their territory; the government desired to utilize both the land and the labor of the Indians. In large part, the policy was unsuccessful. Although the Mapuche relinquished a good deal of land to the colonists, they did not come to form the rural proletariat envisioned by the Chilean landed class. Instead, there was a great dispersal of the native population throughout Araucanía and large-scale migration across the Andes into Argentina.[3]

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By the middle of the nineteenth century white colonization received a new impulse from European immigration. Encroachments on their territory aroused the Mapuche and resulted in an intensification of guerrilla raiding. The Chilean government attempted to foster colonization through the institution of the reservation policy of 1866, which allowed Mapuche leaders to apply for large grants of reservation land, but at the same time provided a mechanism for the gradual abandonment of reservation living.[4] Meanwhile, unclaimed land was to be sold to settlers.

[3] See Cooper, 1946:690 *et passim;* Canals Frau, 1946:761–66, for discussion and bibliographies.

[4] This mechanism was the policy of *división*, whereby reservation inhabitants could vote to give up reservation status.

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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INTRODUCTION 11

After 1866 tremendous pressure was exerted against the Mapuche by white colonists. Huge tracts of land were taken from them along the Bío Bío River, along the coast south of Concepción, and in a vast area near and south of the town of Valdivia. The Mapuche responded by staging a large-scale rebellion in 1869–70, in which they were defeated and their population further dispersed and disrupted. Peace ensued for less than a decade. The final large-scale Mapuche revolt came in 1880 and lasted for about two years. Again, peace was established, but the military power and political autonomy of the Mapuche were lost. Great population flux characterized the decade or so after 1884, during the establishment of the present reservation system. The exodus to Argentina assumed proportions greater than ever before. The Mapuche who remained in Chile, although restive under defeat and a harsh peace, were willing to accept the protection of the reservation system, the basis for present-day Mapuche society.

Because of their sizable and increasing population, the Mapuche continue to present a problem of assimilation to the Chilean government. On the regional level of intersocietal relationships there has long been conflict between white Chileans and reservation Mapuche in many spheres of activity. The Mapuche regard most Chileans with distrust, suspecting many of them of practicing sorcery to gain their ends. Short of this, Chileans are felt to be unscrupulous merchants and land grabbers who are unjustly protected by the law. Most Chileans regard the Mapuche as hopelessly ignorant, shiftless, and lazy. This situation is aggravated by the fact that Mapuche reservations occupy some of the most desirable farming and cattle-raising land in this part of Chile — land coveted by white settlers, who complain that the reservations surround them like a "ring of iron," preventing their expansion. Merchants and bankers in the towns echo this complaint, since their profits depend on the agrarian production of the Frontera. The government is desirous that the land be exploited by the best agricultural methods, and regards the Mapuche as a stumbling block to the improvements strategic white colonization would bring. These attitudes are translated into "pressures" on Mapuche society. They are part of the ecological adaptation made by both Chileans and Mapuche in the Frontera.

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

concerned, conflicting principles of integration whose operation at the group level involves a certain amount of compromise (see Murdock, 1949:66).

The patrilineage is concerned primarily with matters of inheritance, marriage, and the celebration of life crises, especially insofar as the propitiation of lineage ancestors is concerned. It was formerly the focal group in blood feuds and the payment of blood money. Common residence serves to integrate the entire local group, including in-married women, mainly in matters of economic cooperation, politics, recreative activities, and agricultural fertility rites. Formerly, the residential group was also important in the conduct of warfare and internecine raiding. For analytic purposes the patrilineage and the residential kingroup may be sharply differentiated on the basis of descent alone, although there is a good deal of overlap in their activities, inasmuch as males of the residential kingroup are also the core members of the patrilineage. The extent to which there is overlap underscores the degree to which in-married women are integrated into the activities of the local group. The distinction between patrilineage and residential kingroup is of further importance when the structure of multilineage organization is analyzed in terms of the reservation system.

THE STRUCTURE OF THE PATRILINEAGE

Lineal descent is figured through males, membership in the patrilineage being determined by birth. Although the Mapuche are aware of the possibility of tracing descent to the nth generation, they seldom remember consanguineal ties back beyond the great-grandparental generation (using a young adult male as point of reference). Empirically, this depth represents the limit of exact genealogical significance. There is reason to believe that even this depth is due largely to the reservation system and contingent influences associated with land use and inheritance rights.

The shallowness of Mapuche lineages is consonant with and partly explained by their history of disruptive warfare, population loss, and the dispersal of social aggregates, and partly by their prereservation economy of shifting horticulture and animal raising which, in turn, is understandable only in terms of their relations with a white colonial society over several centuries. Since becoming immobilized

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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made them a continual military threat. It was a period of intermittent hostilities – raids (*malones*) among the Mapuche themselves as the displaced groups jostled one another, and raids against the encroaching white farms and towns.

While Chilean armies were occupied with Peru and Bolivia during the War of the Pacific, the Mapuche staged their last general uprising, which ended in their defeat, pacification, and settlement on small reservations. After 1883, their territory was studded with military garrisons and Chilean towns, and crosscut by a network of roads and railroad lines. Unoccupied, that is, unregistered, land was taken over by the government and disposed of in several ways.

Reservation laws have been modified occasionally for the purpose of inducing the Mapuche to abandon their traditional way of life and make available their lands for white colonization. A "one-eighth" clause provided that the chief should obtain three times as much land as ordinary household heads when severalty holdings were allotted, in accordance with a vote of one-eighth of the reservation in favor of *división*. It was perhaps felt that the chief, on this inducement, could muster sufficient votes in favor of *división*. South of Cautín Province *división* and the consequent sale of land took place on a tremendous scale after 1866. But when the Mapuche came to realize their plight there was strong resistance to the law. Reservations were not being dissolved with nearly the rapidity the government had expected. In 1927 it was decreed that application for *división* could be made by a single family head, rather than one-eighth of the household heads. Again, the chief was favored, although the net was broadly cast to catch any individual desiring freehold status. Clarification of this law the following year went a step farther and made it explicit that the government, if the need arose, could divide the reservations *at its own discretion*!

The Mapuche continue to live under the threat of absolute and arbitrary governmental power.[2] There has consequently been a reaction to *división* on the part of the Mapuche, manifest in both the symbolism of cultural nationalism and the action programs of political nationalism, and by the concrete fact that very few reservations have been divided since. In 1931 the law was again modified to the extent that now agreement of one-third of the household heads of a

[2] A communication from Prof. Alejandro Lipschutz, December 27, 1960, relates that the National Congress has recently passed a law involving the dissolution of the reservations and that the only hope for their preservation depends on the personal intervention of the President of Chile.

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on their shoulders to the toldos. They also when on the march loaded themselves with their household gear, leaving bags of grease hung up in the trees for future use. He left them a couple of mares, from which part of their present stock is sprung. This story, however, should be taken with reservation, although it is perfectly possible that in some fight their horses were taken from them, and that subsequently, when all the Indians were joined together under the Cacique Lenketrou to invade the settlements, they received a share of the spoils, and have since added to their stock by trade.

The day following our arrival a council was held, and an interchange of presents took place. Here I made the acquaintance of the old chief Quintuhual, and presented him with a dagger. He was a short, heavily-built man, with a grave and indeed solemn expression; but he had a bad name for getting intoxicated and using knife or revolver freely—in fact, running a-muck. He was of course a relation—nephew, it was said—of Casimiro; but notwithstanding, he at first received me with great suspicion, and when, in answer to his inquiries as to what I was and why I came, he was informed that I was in the service of the Cacique of England, who wished the Indians well, but that I had visited these parts for my own pleasure, he replied that he was not a boy to be humbugged easily; but having instituted private inquiries, he soon changed his tone, showing me the greatest civility, and was never tired of asking questions about England and Englishmen.

Here the letters forwarded some time previously, which we had thought were by this time arrived at Patagones, were handed back to us. They had been forwarded to Foyel's* people, but owing to those sent by me for England being written on pink note-paper, they were returned, the Indians considering the colour of the paper to denote war.

Quintuhual had with him a Valdivian or Chilote named

* Also called Poyel.

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etiquette; then retired to keep Hinchel, who would not drink, company by his fireside. Whilst chatting together he related how, many years ago, this place had been the scene of a great battle between the Tehuelches and Manzaneros, in which he, though only a boy, was struck down by a bola perdida and wounded with a lance whilst on the ground; the battle resulting in a victory to the Tehuelches.

The day following the drink, meat being scarce, I dined in Foyel's toldo off a little cornmeal and a dessert of apples and piñones, of which the honours were done by his daughter, a pretty girl of eighteen, with long black silky hair, which it was the special duty of her handmaid—a captive Tehuelche girl—to dress daily. This young lady never condescended to any menial labour, though she occasionally busied her delicate fingers with the needle; her dowry of about eighty mares and the influence of her father made her of course a most desirable match; but she, up to the time of my departure, had exercised the privilege of an heiress and refused all offers. This evening she was in great trouble, having lost a new mantle and some other valuables, stolen no doubt by the Tehuelches. I promised to set inquiries on foot through Casimiro, which resulted in the stolen property being given up, and the thief proved to be the same individual who had endeavoured to rob our toldo.

Shortly after this two messengers were despatched to Cheoeque, who returned on March 25 with intelligence that the said chief would be ready to receive us on April 2, and 'that we were to bring our arms,' which latter message was rather ambiguous. I had been given the option of taking our chief's message to Cheoeque, but owing to one of my horses being lame, and for other reasons, preferred going with the mass later on. Meña, the Chilian, was therefore honoured with the despatches in my place, as he alone was competent to read the Spanish letters written by myself as secretary, and he returned with glowing accounts of the civility shown him at Las Manzanas, and the generally civilised appearance of those Indians.

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648 pine groves, gathering the autumn harvest; but I subsequently met some of these Indians at the Guardia waiting for Rouque's ration, and recognised one as having been present at our council and subsequent festivities in La Manzanas. The Government agent for Indian affairs, Bonifaccio, showed me a magnificent pair of stirrups sent from Buenos Ayres as a present to Rouque, the policy of the
A authorities being to keep him and Cheoeque from joining
● 721 Calfjcura in the threatened raid on the frontier. The reason assigned for the declaration of war by this latter chief was the death—by which he probably meant the imprisonment—of one of his inferior caciques; but the real reason probably was that the Argentine Government, on account of robberies committed by some of his people, had refused to renew his ration of animals. The outbreak in Entre Rios, resulting from the death of Urquiza, was then unforeseen, and it was intended to have despatched a large force, under the command of Señor Mitre, to reinforce the whole frontier, and if necessary crush Calfjcura; but the troubles caused by Lopez Jordan necessitated the despatch of all available forces at once to Entre Rios, and the meditated scheme of rendering the frontier secure was postponed. Calfjcura subsequently took advantage of this by attacking the frontier in various places, carrying off captives women and children, besides numerous herds of cattle, winding up by attacking and devastating the new settlements in the neighbourhood of Bahia Blanca, his Indians penetrating boldly, almost without resistance, into the very heart of the town, and returning with abundance of booty. Patagones was not attacked, which may partially be due to the arrangements effected in Las Manzanas, the unwillingness of the Tehuelches to join, and the gaining over of Rouque. The latter chief, however, most probably played a double game, and whilst receiving
I rations and gifts with one hand, allowed his people to join the raids and received plunder with the other.
721 One reason for the Indians not committing great raids on

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the Rio Negro settlements is simply that cattle and horses hardly exist in sufficient numbers to reward a foray on a large scale. Small parties sometimes come in, as in the case described, when the horses were taken from the 'China Muerte,' the estancia of Mr. Fraser's neighbour; but these are rather robberies than hostile invasions—indeed no important raids have occurred since the time of Lenquetrou, who united all the Indians for the purpose, and swept the valley in a raid which, it may be remembered, was described to me by Gravino, a participator in it, at Inacayal's toldos, near the Paso of the Rio Limay. The settlers were naturally anxious to know my opinion as to the probable safety of the Rio Negro, and I assured them that, from what I knew, there was little chance of a raid, but that, on the contrary, Bahia Blanca was sure to be attacked, and I especially warned one of our countrymen who was on his way to Bahia Blanca not to hazard himself by settling outside the town at the present juncture. Englishmen are apt to suppose that because they possess good weapons, rifles and revolvers, and are able and ready to use them, they can resist an Indian attack; but the whole system of their warfare consists in sudden surprises. They secretly collect their forces, and waiting at a safe distance during the night, come in at the early dawn; and perhaps the unsuspicious settler, going to the corral or looking for his horses, observes in the distance what appears to be a troop of horses, driven, according to custom, by one or two mounted men; these approach unchallenged, but in a second every horse displays an armed rider, shouting his war-cry. They then spread out, as if to encircle the game, thus presenting no front to the rifles of their opponents, and dash down lance in hand; and whilst some secure the animals, others set fire to the dwellings and carry off the women—if there are any—captives. In some cases they kill the men, but generally only when much resistance is offered.

Although their chief object in warfare is to carry off cattle